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Analyses like this (and in the final chapter, which explores a variety of North American Indian modes of communication) suggest intriguing new research possibilities. They might even shed light on those in New Guinea who, as Evelyn Ellerman showed, preferred to smoke, rather than read, their newspapers. More immediately, it might inspire a further collection that would continue to build on the important scholarship on display in *Indigenous Textual Cultures*, which is essential reading for researchers in the field.

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NGATA, Wayne, Arapata Hakiwai, Anne Salmond, Conal McCarthy, Amiria Salmond, Monty Soutar, James Schuster, Billie Lythberg, John Niko Maihi, Sandra Kahu Nepia, Te Wheturere Poope Grey, Te Aroha McDonnell and Natalie Robertson: *Hei Taonga mā ngā Uri Whakatipu | Treasures for the Rising Generation: The Dominion Museum Ethnological Expeditions, 1919–1923*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2021. 368 pp., appendices, biblio., glossary, index, notes, photos. NZ\$75.00 (hardcover).

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There is a version of Aotearoa New Zealand histories that emphasises a story of colonisers and colonised. *Hei Taonga mā ngā Uri Whakatipu | Treasures for the Rising Generation* offers something far more nuanced, richer and important. The book explores four expeditions undertaken by Dominion Museum anthropologists to different parts of Te Ika-a-Māui (the North Island of New Zealand) into the 1920s—the Gisborne Hui Aroha in 1919, Rotorua in 1920, Whanganui River in 1921 and Tairāwhiti East Coast in 1923. These expeditions provided crucial ethnological research for the Dominion Museum (today Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) and included Pākehā ‘New Zealand European’ researchers such as Elsdon Best, Johannes Andersen and James McDonald whose intention was one of gathering the remnants of Māori culture “scattered by the winds of change” (p. 115) caused by colonial conflict, land loss and societal disruption.

Hei Taonga mā ngā Uri Whakatipu reframes the expeditions around key Māori leaders (and their communities) who appear not as mere participants but as instigators. Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) are central here. Their purpose was not salvage but revitalisation, initiating and directing the expeditions to collect *taonga* ‘traditional treasures’—as various as *waiata* ‘songs’, games, customary rites and material culture, in notes, film, and phonographic and photographic recordings—for future generations. In this way, the expeditions were marked by interactions that were collaborative,

reflecting networks of *whakapapa* ‘lineage, genealogy’ like “an intricately woven fabric” (p. 212) across *hapū* and *iwi* ‘sub-tribal and tribal kin and political groups’ and *whanaungatanga* ‘relationships’ between expedition researchers. This framing allows us to glimpse the strategic vision of these Māori leaders in response to an evolving state and society, which might otherwise be obscured. Although Ngata and Te Rangihiroa, for example, used the language of loss to acquire government funding and support, they viewed ethnological documentation and recording as an opportunity to sustain and revive Māori arts and culture.

Adding to this sense of a spiralling history of connection is the fact that many of the book’s authors are descended from key figures involved in the expeditions, notably Ngata and McDonald, revealing intergenerational activities and symmetries that “make sense of what was, and posit what could be” (p. 9). The overall project is highly collaborative with 13 contributing authors (excluding the appendix of Ngata’s writings) with backgrounds in history, anthropology and *mātauranga Māori* ‘Māori knowledge’. Eschewing a formal introduction, the early chapters offer vignettes of the main actors, especially Ngata and Te Rangihiroa, whose friendship, familiar to readers of New Zealand history, is presented here with new liveliness. Subsequent chapters deal with aspects of each expedition, drawing on public newspapers, private correspondence and object files. Māori texts with accompanying translations offer a rich resource.

A stand-out theme offered across the various chapters and essays is how museum practices were entangled in the aftermath of the colonial wars and *hapū/iwi* responses. To the backdrop of demobilisation of Māori soldiers after the Great War, Monty Soutar recounts *te Hui Aroha* as a commemoration of imperial citizenship and loyalty (not always reciprocated by members of the British royal family). Strategic if paradoxical relationships and agendas unfold: Ngata and Te Rangihiroa, planning for revival within living memory of war and occupation, work alongside Best, who participated in the sacking of *Parihaka* and whose own work was premised on the looming extinction of the Māori race. Amongst the rich illustrations, striking pictures of veterans *Heremia Rāwiri* at *Koroniti* in 1921 and *Teira Tapunga* in 1923, proudly wearing their New Zealand Wars medals, point to how this military experience became a focal point for collective engagement and negotiations across generations, such as the changing *tikanga* ‘practice’ of *pōwhiri* ‘welcome rituals’.

The nature of an edited collection covering such a diverse set of perspectives, analytic lenses and source material inevitably leads to some unevenness. Some images in the early parts of the book are included with little justification except to seemingly balance out the photograph-heavy

collecting of the Whanganui and East Coast expeditions towards the end of the book. The significance of the expeditions is assumed, rather than argued. The decision to avoid a traditional introduction with summaries of each contribution means there is some repetition: the 1918 influenza and its impact on Māori communities is discussed in the same way multiple times. A clearer editorial voice might have helped.

Nonetheless, the result here is something of a scrapbook or treasure box filled with surprises across film, photography and material culture (an example of which was the *pouhaki* ‘flagpole’ carved for the Prince of Wales’s visit in 1920 and restored by James Schuster at the Cambridge Museum in 2008). Natalie Robertson argues for the 1923 expedition as the beginnings of Ngāti Porou’s film engagement, which will enrich our understanding of Māori film histories in general. The accumulative impact of the book’s threads is to recognise the potential of taonga to reshape museum spaces and practices of translation, interpretation and transportation in their material and spiritual dimensions. *Taonga/tūpuna* ‘treasures/ancestors’ continue to activate connections across time and place. In this way, the expeditions—at once familial, social and scientific—offer fruitful reflections for contemporary research projects organised across different kinds of knowledge with different purposes and intentions. As Wayne Ngata puts it in the collection’s opening remarks, *Hei Taonga mā ngā Uri Whakatipu* is a story that calls attention to “a mix of translators, mediators, and negotiators” (p. 9) between (but not reducible to) the subjectivities of coloniser and colonised. The meetings and relationships in the past enliven meetings and relationships into the future.